

# Woodville Republican.

"THE PATH OF DUTY."

"IS THE PATH OF SAFETY."

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BY J. S. HOLT, JR.

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## TERMS.

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## POETRY.



### A SONG FOR THE SEASON.

"With what a glory comes and goes the year!"

Autumn days have come again!  
Autumn winds begin to blow;  
Leaves are falling in the glen,  
They are tossing to and fro,  
In the valley, o'er the hill,  
Up and down the open plain,  
Rustling, whirling, dancing, still—  
Oh! Autumn days are come again!

Autumn days are come again!  
Frosts have touched the summer bowers;  
Blooming Rose! I look in vain,  
To see thee still, the Queen of Flowers;  
The Dahlia rears her stately head,  
Nor fears a rival to her sway;  
The fairest now, since thou art dead,  
Of all the flowers that pass away!

Autumn days are come again!  
Birds have ceased their merry notes,  
Cooing dove and bushy wren,  
Wander now far, far remote;  
The woodland choir I hear no more,  
Though every tree had once its voice,  
The meadow minstrelsy is o'er,  
And lacks no longer their rejoice.

Autumn days are come again!  
I know not well to laugh or sigh,  
To see the faded year so vain,  
Put on his gorgeous robes to die.  
Shine out, fair sun, and gild his way,  
E'en as thou didst upon his birth;  
Then, like a tender parent, lay  
Him gently, gently in the earth!

[Continued from last week.]

### THE POSITION AND COURSE OF THE SOUTH.

BY WM. H. TRESCOTT.

So much for the first class of objections. Now let us look at the second, viz: that Southern secession, if successful, would not effect its purposes. And the first point to be settled is, what are those purposes? why should we secede? We honestly believe that much of the unwillingness that does undoubtedly exist in some quarters, to concerted Southern action, springs from a misconception on this point. Many think that we are called upon to rebel against practical oppression—to overturn some special congressional enactment—and we are in consequence met by such replies as, "How am I oppressed?—you cannot un-State California. If Texas chooses to sell her lands how can we complain?"

The true position of the South is this:—From the formation of the government there have existed, in the two great sections of the Union, political systems, opposed in principle. Recent events have developed into excited hostility these contradictions, and, just at the time when sectional interests are most antagonistic, the government, by the admission of California, has destroyed the balance of power between the two sections, and placed the South, its interests, and its institutions, in helpless dependence upon Northern majorities. Will not the establishment of a Southern confederacy, with a homogeneous population, and a united government, relieve the South from this false and dangerous situation, enable her to control her own fortunes, and use, to the best advantage, the strength of her natural position.

The prime element of national Southern strength, is commerce; the peculiar character of the Southern staple identifying agriculture and commerce more completely than in any other national experience. It is in relation to commercial questions, that the South would come in contact with foreign powers, and by her industrial policy, that she would influence remote countries. Rivalry, on these points, with foreign nations, exists only in the northern section of the republic. The formation of an independent Southern confederacy, would give to the South the control of its industrial policy and its commercial connection; thus arming it, at the very outset of its national career, with diplomatic power, and at the same time, from the character of those interests, propitiating all foreign jealousy, and inviting the cordial alliance of European powers. The advantages of such a position are incalculable, and the most selfish interests of the for-

sign world would be prompted to a speedy recognition of our national independence. When we consider, too, that completion of the Isthmus connection promises to make the Gulf of Mexico the theatre of a mightier commerce than that which, in the days of ancient Rome, civilized the classic shores of the Mediterranean, and gave the provincial city of Alexandria a place among the capitals of history or that which illuminated with its treasure the pages of Venetian and Genoan story, we must acknowledge that the formation of a Southern confederacy, at least so far as regards its foreign relations, bids fair to place the South, an equal among the nations of the earth.

If then secession fails in its purpose, it can only be in respect to its domestic policy. What do we expect in this regard? That a homogeneous people, governed by the same sentiment and acting upon the same interests, will give to their government unity of character, and thus that parties will be formed by a fair difference of opinion on national measures, and not upon theoretical differences as to the nature of the government itself. That the government placed in immediate and active sympathy with popular institutions, will devote itself to the practical perfection of those institutions, and will cut off all extraneous agitation. Of course we can no more prevent the expression of Northern sentiment at the North, than we can check the eloquence of Exeter Hall in London, but then the agitation at the North will affect us only in the same degree. As to the expression of opinion, the world may think as it pleases, and say what it thinks. We do not complain of Northern sentiment, except where having achieved political representation it undertakes to act in Congress. Through the national councils only does it reach us, and there only do we protest against it. England and Massachusetts—Lord Palmerston and Gov. Briggs—both think the law of South Carolina, imprisoning colored seamen, a very unfeeling measure. They are both opposed to it in sentiment. But when the practical action of that State brought the question before the British Parliament, Lord Palmerston very wisely said that nothing could be done, foreign powers made their own police law. When the same question came before the Massachusetts Legislature, Gov. Briggs appended to the constitution, and sent an ambassador to dispute our rights on our own soil. To this extent, then, at least, an independent government could and would check agitation; would suppress that of which only we complain, legislative agitation. But, says the report above quoted, all this may be true as to the body of the confederacy, but you must sacrifice the border States; and of course as this abandonment of the border States will only make new States on the narrow border, there will follow another series of sacrifices and great Southern confederacy will be thus bordered on to destruction. This may be witty, it is scarcely wise. We have been so long accustomed to have the ocean on one side and a blank wilderness on the other, that the sense of neighborhood with certain politicians, is a fearful experience. They cannot realize that two nations can be at peace in each other's presence. With them, "the distance that gives safety to the view." Now, in the first place, as agitation would be expected on these borders, it would be guarded against, and if the price of liberty is eternal vigilance, we would not complain of paying the same price for slavery. But, in the next place, agitation would be very cautious how it crossed the line, when on the other side it had no common constitution to appeal to, and realized the risk of trial by the laws of the offending party. Even fanaticism is not reckless of its own safety. Again, there are two sides to this same border difficulty. If Virginia and Maryland and Kentucky are border States, so are Ohio and Pennsylvania. Now, if the argument be that these first States will be more exposed to the spoliation of their property, Ohio and Pennsylvania will be more exposed to the evils of retaliation. It is not to be supposed that a Southern government would fold its arms quietly at such a violation of its territory, and is it any more possible that Ohio and Pennsylvania would allow their borders to be infested by a set of miscreants, whose action would be to draw on these States the evils of a perpetual border warfare. Indeed, if selfishness has not lost its cunning, the border States of a Northern confederacy would be the safest neighbors for their border brethren of the South. The arguments of the report as to the deterioration of the value of slaves, is of course based upon the successful result of this agitation. If, therefore, there be any justice in our argument, that not only will the South have the power, but that it will be the direct interest of the Northern border States, to suppress agitation, the whole force of the report on this head is broken. The weakness of this position could be demonstrated from other points of view, but they would not come within the scope of the present argument. Enough of the report and its resolutions.

One more objection, and we have done. There are many men who have grown in the Union, who feel an honest and pardonable regret at the thought of its dissolution. The enthusiasm of their boyhood, the hopes of their manhood, the calm honors of their age belong to the completed circle of the past. They have felt themselves parties to the great experiment of political self-government, they have prided themselves on the successful demonstration of that great problem, and they feel that the dissolution of the Union, proclaims a mortifying failure. But it is not so. The vital principle of political liberty is representative government, and when federal arrangements are discarded, that lives in original vigor—it has be-

come the characteristic of our race, to spread with our emigrant millions over continents, and into the hidden isles of distant seas. Who does not consider the greatest triumph of the British constitution, the facility with which it adapted itself to the altered condition of its colonies—the vigor with which under slight modifications, it developed into the great republican government, under which we have accomplished our national progress.

And so it will be with our own constitution; the elements of constitutional liberty, may be slightly varied in their action under different governments; but they will act with energy for they have been incorporated into the national character. The experiment instituted by our fathers will receive its highest illustration and a continent of great republics, equal, independent, and allied, will demonstrate to the world the capabilities of republican, constitutional government. That the dissolution of the Union must come even without the present agitation, at no distant day, is almost a historical necessity; for the history of the world is the record of the aggregation and dissolution of great empires. National individuality seems to be the agent of Providence in the conduct of the world, and having, in the extension of our territories to the extreme Western verge accomplished the first part of our destiny, we are about to fulfill the second in creating those separate national interests and individual national peculiarities, to the attrition of which is due the varied and brilliant civilization of modern times.

We have thus endeavored to suggest the elements of the present discussion. The question is the gravest that can well be imagined—it is invested with a solemn responsibility, and rises above the flippant passion and uncertain temper of ordinary politics. We believe that the interests of the southern country demand a separate and independent government. We believe that the time has come when such a government can be established temperately, wisely, strongly. But in effecting this separation, we would not disown our indebtedness, our gratitude to the past. The Union has released a continent to the christian world—it has fertilized a wilderness, and converted the rude force of nature into the beneficent action of a civilized agriculture. It has enriched the world's commerce with the untold wealth of a new and growing trade. It has spread over the vast territories of this new land the laws, the language, the literature of the Anglo-Saxon race. It has developed a population with whom liberty is identical with law, and in training thirty-three States to manhood, has fitted them for the responsibility of independent national life. It has given to history sublime names, which the world will not willingly let die—heroic actions which will light the eyes of a far-coming enthusiasm. It has achieved its destiny. Let us achieve ours.

## COMMUNICATION.

To the Editor of the Free Trader:

Dear Sir: In your paper of Saturday, November 9th, in an article bearing the title "The Treason of the Abolitionists to the Union," occurs the following paragraph:

"In Pittsburgh, a few days since, a Presbyterian Synod assembled, and the principal feature of their proceedings was opposition to Slavery and the Fugitive Slave Law. Though its members were ministers of the Gospel of peace, they recommended the most violent measures of opposition, even to arm, if necessary, to prevent the execution of a law so utterly at variance with the Law of God. The South was denounced, and her people branded as knaves and kidnappers."

This paragraph I read with profound regret, and I must add, with a secret persuasion, that the sources of information upon which you doubtless in good faith had relied, had failed to report correctly the proceedings of the body alluded to. This persuasion, I am happy to say, has been fully confirmed. I have in my possession the resolutions adopted by the Synod of Pittsburgh, on the subject of Slavery and the Fugitive Slave Law, at their recent session, and, as one who feels a filial concern for the reputation of the Presbyterian Church, I would esteem it a personal favor if you would give them an insertion in your paper. They are as follows:

"1. Resolved, That it is inexpedient for the Synod at this time to give any formal expression of its mind in relation to the law aforesaid, leaving every man to act as a citizen in conformity with his obligations as a citizen and a Christian, in the wisdom and meekness of the Gospel.

"2. Resolved, That it be earnestly recommended to all our churches and people to observe with special fervor the apostolical injunction to pray for our rulers and all in authority, that they may be just, ruling in the fear of God; and that, under the Divine favor, our National Government may be preserved in their integrity, and happily guided to the fulfillment of its great and glorious vocation."

I may add, that the discussion of the law in question arose incidentally, having no connection with the objects for which the Synod was convened. Every effort to obtain an expression of opinion from the body, adverse to the validity of law or justifying resistance to

it, failed, and the above resolutions passed by a very decided majority.

If I am not asking too much space, I would like to lay before your readers a few extracts from the Report of a Committee on Slavery, made to the General Assembly (the Body which represents the aggregate Presbyterian Church in the United States,) at its meeting at Cincinnati in May, 1845.

"That slavery," say the committee, "existed in the days of Christ and his Apostles, is an admitted fact; that they did not denounce the relation itself as sinful, as inconsistent with Christianity; that slaveholders were admitted to membership in the Churches organized by the Apostles; that whilst they were required to treat their slaves with kindness, and as rational, accountable, immortal beings, and if Christians, as brethren in the Lord, they were not commanded to emancipate them; that slaves were required to be 'obedient to their masters according to the flesh with fear and trembling, with singleness of heart as unto Christ,' are facts which meet the eye of every reader of the New Testament. This Assembly cannot, therefore, denounce the holding of slaves as necessarily a heinous and scandalous sin, calculated to bring upon the church the curse of God, without charging the Apostles of Christ with conniving at such a sin, introducing into the Church such sinners, and thus bringing upon them the curse of the Almighty."

"The Assembly intend simply to say, that since Christ and his inspired Apostles did not make the holding of slaves a bar to communion, we as a court of Christ, have no authority to do so; since they did not attempt to remove it from the Church by legislation, we have no authority to legislate on the subject. We feel constrained, further, to say, that however desirable it may be to ameliorate the condition of the slave in the Southern and Western States, or to remove slavery from our country, these objects are fully persuaded can never be secured by ecclesiastical legislation. Much less can they be attained by those indiscriminate denunciations against slaveholders, without regard to their character or circumstances, which have, to so great an extent, characterized the movements of modern abolitionists, which, far from removing the evils complained of, tend only to perpetuate and aggravate them."

The Report closes with the following:

"Resolved, 1st. That the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States was originally organized, and has since continued the bond of union in the Church, upon the conceded principle that the existence of domestic slavery, under the circumstances in which it is found in the Southern portion of the country, is no bar to Christian communion.

"2nd. That the petitions that ask the Assembly to make the holding of slaves in itself, a matter of discipline, do virtually require this Judiciary to dissolve itself, and abandon the organization under which, by the Divine blessing, it has so long prospered. The tendency is evidently to separate the Northern from the Southern portion of the Church; a result which every good citizen must deplore, as tending to the dissolution of the Union of our beloved country, and which every enlightened Christian will oppose, as bringing about a ruinous and unnecessary schism between brethren who maintain a common faith."

The report and the resolutions accompanying it, were adopted by a vote of 68 yeas to 13 nays, four members declining to vote. They have, ever since, been regarded and appealed to as the formal authentic expression of the sentiment of the Presbyterian Church on the subject of slavery.

Believing that there are many persons in all political parties who have misunderstood the position which this extensive religious body holds in relation to this matter—the publication of these extracts, I conceive, would be rendering a seasonable service to such persons, as well as to the cause of truth and justice. Respectfully, I am yours, JOS. B. STRATTON.

We hardly feel interest enough in mere party elections, to chronicle the fact that the democrats have, recently, carried the day in Ohio and Pennsylvania. When both whig and democrat at the North, are sworn enemies of the constitution and the South, why should a Southern man rejoice that one has conquered the other? For ourself, we have freely, fully and most cheerfully given up our party predilections, until it is shown to our satisfaction, that a national organization will bring back the old ship to its ancient moorings; and we confess, that all hope of this is idle and suicidal. At this time we acknowledge allegiance to the Southern Rights Party, and the Southern Rights Party, alone.—Oxford Organizer.

## GOVERNOR'S MESSAGE.

Gentlemen of the Senate and House of Representatives:

A high sense of duty has induced me to convene the Legislature in extraordinary session. Were I disposed to shift from myself the responsibility of this act, I might point to the firm and patriotic resolutions of your honorable bodies, passed at the last session on the subject of our Federal relations, as a full justification of my course; but, inasmuch as the constitution confides this important power solely to the discretion of the Governor, I am quite content to rest the propriety of my action upon reasons and considerations, which I shall proceed briefly to lay before you, and which I doubt not, will be deemed satisfactory both by you, and by our common constituents, the people. I shall study to present them with simplicity, candor and truth.

Probably no free representative Government has ever existed, which has not been agitated by the contests of rival interests. When these happen to be scattered and diffused throughout a whole community, the excitement thereby produced, is healthy and beneficial; but, when these interests are local and sectional, growing out of diversity of climate and productions, the contest soon becomes a struggle for supremacy too often attended with jealousy, bitterness and hatred, especially when the rival sections are distinguished by dissimilar and incongruous social systems. The contest which has long been waged by the Northern or non-slaveholding States, led on by New England, against the Southern or slaveholding States, has begun to partake of the latter character. It commenced in a conflict of interests, about manufactures, navigation laws, local appropriations, &c., and has ended in a war of extermination against the institution of domestic slavery, or rather, against the states in which the system exists.

The hostility to slavery has now become the all-absorbing, all-controlling element of political action and party movement, both in Congress and throughout the Northern States. Political parties, unite, separate, and are modified with reference to it. Political platforms are built upon it. It is the main question in the selection of candidates for all offices. It is the active element of religious, benevolent, charitable, and even literary associations, and the spice which seasons private society. The Constitution of the United States, the rights of the States, the gravest questions of public policy, all are constructed and determined with reference to this question of domestic slavery; and the Congress of the United States, whose powers are limited mainly to the regulation of national and external objects, are now found devoting nearly all their time to subjects of a domestic nature, over which it was never intended that they should exercise jurisdiction.

It might be interesting to trace the progress of the abolition, or anti-slavery excitement, from its small beginnings to its present overshadowing influence, when it actually sways the whole machinery of the Federal Government. But it is sufficient, in this connection, to state the question as it was, during the last session of the Legislature, and to present forcibly the changes which have since occurred.

By the war with Mexico, we had acquired a vast and valuable territory. Its area is large enough to constitute fifteen states of medium size. A portion of this territory, fronting for more than 1000 miles upon the Pacific ocean, abounds with good harbors, which command the rich commerce of the Indies, of China, and of the Southern Archipelago. It contains too, within its bosom, inexhaustible beds of the precious metals. No country ever discovered, has suddenly presented so many brilliant attractions for adventurers, and none has risen into notice with more rapidity. The exclusive possession and enjoyment of this vast and rich territory, soon excited the avarice and lust for power of the North, and for a time all anti-slavery schemes were merged in the leading one of excluding the South from this joint possession. The whole force of the contest was turned upon this point. The South determined to exclude slavery. The South seemed equally determined not to submit to such insulting and unjust discrimination. The firm and decided position of the slaveholding states, enforced respect, and for a time, seemed to promise security and protection against the contemplated outrage. In the meantime, while the rival sections maintained this attitude, a deep political intrigue was devised and set on foot, to effect indirectly the purpose of excluding the Southern States from the common territory. The transient and floating population which had poured into the country, were instigated and encouraged to usurp the sovereign domain of the best and most valuable portions of that country, cut off the Southern States from all participation therein, and to demand from Congress the sanction of their illegal proceedings, and admission into the Union as a State. Encouraged by the Federal administration, in the way of whose political schemes these questions lay as stumbling blocks, this stupendous plot to defraud the Southern States by an abuse of the power to admit new States, notwithstanding its monstrous injustice, was beginning to develop its progress during your last session of the Legislature. So palpable did its real purpose appear to those who had closely watched its progress, that both our Senators in Congress, and all our representatives, in an official communication addressed to me, to be laid before the Legislature and the people, declared, that they regarded this measure, the admission of California, as the Wilmot Proviso, in another form. It was

too grossly unjust to be urged as a measure by itself. Its deformity was too apparent. Even its principal sponsors did not in the commencement, venture to advocate the proposition alone. To break the force of the blow, and to palliate its effects, they connected it with other measures, some of them objectionable, and others practically useless and immaterial. It was called a compromise, an adjustment, and many patriotic men in the South, were, no doubt, misled by the false, hollow, and deceptive appliances, which were, without scruple, resorted to, to bolster up and sustain it.

Such was the state of the controversy at the period of the adjournment of our Legislature. It was still hoped that this outrage would not be consummated; at any rate, the Legislature did not think fit to anticipate so important a contingency, but deemed the precaution sufficient to leave it, with other causes of complaint, to the consideration of the Southern Convention, then shortly expected to assemble at Nashville. The Legislature indicated no disposition to fall back from the positions which had been assumed by the October Convention, advocated by both great political parties in the State canvass, and maintained with great apparent unanimity in numerous popular meetings. Those positions were, that we were entitled to a just participation in the use and enjoyment of the Territory conquered from Mexico, and that we could not, without dishonor, submit to be excluded from it. The Nashville Convention, whose determinations were by anticipation, adopted by our Legislature, had most formally insisted upon these territorial rights, and had only, for the sake of peace and union, agreed to acquiesce in a division of the territory by the line of 35 deg. 30 min. with the express declaration that this was to be the extreme concession of the States therein represented.

All these protests and denunciations were before Congress, and would probably have commanded respect, and secured the rights of the South, had the same firmness and unanimity been maintained, which marked the commencement of the contest. But unfortunately for the peace of the country, defections from our ranks occurred, the attitude of the south ceased to command respect, and the obnoxious measures, which had been debated by Congress for nine months, became laws.

By these means, the slaveholding States have been absolutely excluded from the greater portion, and by far the most valuable part, of all the territory acquired from Mexico, comprehended within the limits of California, and comprising the whole coast of the Pacific, the gold mines, and an area large enough for ten states of medium size; and although the less important territories of Utah and New Mexico, have been organized without the Wilmot proviso, yet in both these cases, the majority in Congress expressly refused to repeal or suspend the Mexican laws, which were supposed to interdict the introduction of slavery into these regions. The doubt and danger, therefore, which surround its introduction into these territories, amount to an actual prohibition, and so it was considered by the majority in Congress, who stood ready, had the emergency required it, to stop the extension of slavery by positive prohibitions.

May I not, then, be justified in asserting that by these measures the slaveholding states have been virtually excluded from the use and enjoyment of every acre of the vast public domain acquired from Mexico?

Even this is not all we have to complain of. By one of the bills of the series, ten millions of dollars of the public monies raised by taxation from the industry of the country, have been voted, to purchase from Texas a portion of her soil, for no other apparent object than to convert it to "free-soil purposes." Would it be a greater stretch of power to apply the Federal treasury to the purchase of their slaves, to make them free?

I will not, however, dwell upon these incidents. My purpose leads me to examine the act of Congress admitting California, with reference to its character, its bearing upon the political destiny of the country, and its effects upon the Southern States in a pecuniary point of view. To commence with the last. The value of slaves depends upon the demand for their labor. The history of the cultivation of our great staples shows, that this value is permanently enhanced by the opening of new fields of labor. The immense profits which have and still continue to reward well directed industry in the gold mines of California, exceeding those which have ever flowed from mere labor, unmix with capital, or mechanical skill, would have furnished a demand for the application of slave labor, inexhaustible in extent and infinite in duration. Had this wide field for investment been open to the slave labor of the Southern States, wages would have risen, and consequently the value of slaves at home would have been greatly enhanced. Many hundred millions of dollars would have been added to the capital of the Southern States, had they been merely permitted to avail themselves of the benefits to which they were entitled under the Constitution of the United States. Had the common territory, acquired by joint valor and purchased by joint treasure, been honestly and fairly open to their use and occupation as joint proprietors; had equal, even-handed justice been extended to them, they would now be rejoicing and exultant in the activity, energy, general prosperity and above all, confidence in the future, which would have been imparted by such expansion. To this estimate of the pecuniary interest, lost to the South by unauthorized interference of Congress, may properly be added the probable enhanced price of our